

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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FERRER.

Some day when men have grown to be more wise,
Some day when men have eyes with which to see
And ears with which to hear, then with surprise
Shall they discover what the truth may be.

Then shall they know the truth dies not with the
breath,
Then shall they know that truth is not born of
strife.

That truth ends not because of one man's death,
Nor lives, forsooth, because of one man's life.

Some day far in the future we may find
How much of all we cherish now is vain—
Shall not attempt to manacle the mind
Nor to maintain a bondage of the brain.

—WALTER D. NISBET, in the *Chicago Evening Post*.

The Passing Show.

CONDUCTED BY OTUS.

"Thine love's bells a-ringing,
They call to you and me;
And their voices are a-singing
Of a golden jubilee!
When the bound and broken-hearted,
From their heritage departed,
Will come marching glad and free!"

Newcastle C.E.F. has carried the following resolution:—"That the federation has no confidence in Mr. J. Paterson as their representative on the Wages Board, as they consider he has not sufficient ability to fill the position, and, therefore, that he be asked to resign, and that application be made to the Industrial Court to have his seat declared vacant." It is humiliating to remember that if the C.E.F. had refused (as it should have done) to appear before the Wages Board, it would not now have found it necessary to ask a legal representative of the Capitalist Class to shift a man that the unionists object to. It is true that Mr. Paterson betrayed the miners and their proscribed officials when he took a seat on the Board. But what about those who are responsible for the acceptance of the Board by the miners? Didn't they betray Peter Bowling and the other imprisoned men?

In Christian England! An enquiry held concerning the death of Mary Foll, aged 50, a charwoman, revealed the fact that the woman had been in want of food. She was taken ill in a Salvation Army shelter in Hanbury-street, and was removed to the infirmary, where she died the next day, after stating that she hadn't a friend in the world. A post-mortem examination showed that the stomach and intestines were thin and empty. Death was due to pneumonia, accelerated by want of sufficient food, nursing and medical attention.

Under Socialism, woman—the mother of the nation—will be economically free, and such a crime as that related above will not be possible.

Q. *Worker* (official organ of the Labor Party) declares: "We have absolute majorities in both Houses of Parliament. We have only to say, 'Thus shall it be,' and it is. No fusion can displace us. We hold office on nobody's sufferance. Treachery outside our ranks cannot hurt us. If nothing is done it will be entirely our own fault. If much is done it will be all to our own credit. . . . This does not mean that we shall have to achieve the Co-operative Commonwealth. The people are not expecting an Act of Parliament forthwith proclaiming all property to be common property. They are looking for no cut-and-dried scheme for the abolition of capitalism at a swoop." Which means that the Labor Party will follow the well-beaten way of middle-class politics.

Professor MacIntyre, of the Presbyterian Church, has been voicing a protest against the sweating of the parsons. "It will be an evil day when men ask for a cheap Church. Should that day ever come—should it ever come in any measure, then let us blot out our historic motto, *vere tamen cupimus latere*, and write in its place *Iehabed*, for our glory will have departed." And yet these churchmen, who object to a cheap Church, generally take sides against the honest workers when the bosses want cheap flesh and blood for the making of profits!

R. S. Ross writes from Melbourne:—"Congratulations on new paper. Splendid—splendid—and again splendid! I did not anticipate so rich a treat, so worthy a beginning!"

William Burt, an old-age pensioner, died on a seat in Wynyard Park on Wednesday morning of last week. Capitalist society couldn't even give the aged worker a home to die in.

Mr. E. Bennetts, "president of the Saturday Half-holiday League," jubilates because Premier Wade, in his panic-stricken rush to get in out of the storm, has promised a universal half-holiday. One reason Mr. Bennetts is gratified is because the Saturday half-holiday will enable the shop assistants to learn how to kill one another in the interests of the employers.

London *Justice* publishes a eulogistic review of Francis Adams' "Songs of the Army of the Night." *Justice* says: "No more inspiring, revolutionary poems have ever been written than some of these, and it is doubtful if they have ever been equalled since Freiligrath wrote his soul-stirring verse."

A new edition of "Songs of the Army of the Night" has just been issued by A. C. Fifield, London. Cloth, 2s; paper, 1s.

Constable R. Dilworth was fined £10, or three months at the Newtown Police Court for assaulting a young woman by striking her and afterward assaulting a man who remonstrated. The N.S.W. police force seems to be well on the way towards putting up a record.

The latest returns on the question of the use of the Bible in State schools in Queensland are:—Yes, 60,107; No, 50,149. The question now is: Which Bible?

Mr. W. M. Hughes has confirmed our statement of a fortnight ago that the Federal Capital question will not be reopened. It would never do to offend the daily press and Mr. Wade, to say nothing of the inconvenience to the Campbell family that such a re-opening of the question might involve.

Says the *Freethinker*:—"Mr. Will Crooks has been imitating Satan lately by going to and fro and up and down in the world. Will is fond of anecdotes, and he sometimes tells a 'chestnut' as this season's production. While at Melbourne he told a large audience that if he had his way he would pull down every pulpit in the world, because 'we want the preacher on the floor among the people.' Then he told a story of a London cab accident. 'Let us save the horse,' a bystander said. 'No, let us save the man,' said another. 'Save the horse,' replied the first; 'the man's only the parson, and we won't want him for a week.' Not bad. But it's an old story. Will; and as you do a bit of preaching yourself occasionally, and are at least an amateur, you needn't be too hard on the professionals."

Dr. J. McCall, Tasmania's glorified commercial traveller in London, has been assuring the British capitalists that "they need have no anxiety concerning the Australian Labor policy." He said he believed the Labor Government would "cease to be representative of class since it accepted the responsibility to govern the Commonwealth for all classes." The Labor Party, however, never has been representative of class in the sense Dr. McCall means.

Judge Docker has been heaving bricks at the Wade-Wood Government for their gross maladministration of the law relating to Sunday selling. At the Parramatta Sessions, Mr. Docker said it had been stated that "shopkeepers at places like Manly and near the Circular Quay were permitted by 'the authorities' to keep open. He doubted whether either Chief Secretaries or Inspectors-General of Police had power to give permission to any persons in any particular localities to keep their shops open when the law said those shops must be closed. He regarded any such alleged permissions as an unauthorised interference with the law in the interests of special persons." But surely Judge Docker isn't so simple as not to know that Chief Secretaries and Inspectors-General of Police will do any queer old thing, with or without legal power, provided the doing of it makes for the interests of their own class.

Mr. H. E. Kater, M.L.C., speaking at the half-yearly meeting of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, Ltd., said that the strike in the coal trade, which commenced shortly after the company's last meeting, caused a great inconvenience to the company throughout the half-year, and involved a loss of about £30,000.

And still there are some people stupid enough to wonder why Wade and Hughes worked so hard to land Peter Bowling in jail.

Before a Sydney Wages Board, Albert Ernest Watts (lift attendant) said that up to three or four weeks ago he had been employed at Vickery's chambers for

about seven years. During all that time he had received £1 per week. His duties kept him employed on week-days from 8.45 a.m. to 6 p.m., with half-an-hour for lunch, and on Saturdays from 8.45 a.m. until 1 p.m. His lift connected with 60 offices, and also the Royal Art Society's room. He was a married man, with no children, and was just 34 years of age. He had only existed whilst lift attending, and his wife had to make a shilling where she could.

At the last meeting of the Bega Labor League a letter was read from the president of the Bemboka League nominating Peter Bowling for selection by the league for the Bega electorate at the next State election. But Peter Bowling isn't likely to run as the candidate of a party that aided to make the law under which he was jailed, and whose leading lights helped to fasten the manacles on him.

In a recently printed list of the stockholders of the Standard Oil Company, there appears the names of eleven of the nobility of Europe. They are drawing 10 per cent dividends out of the hide and tallow of these great free Americans, who would rather die than support royalty! Say, what chumps some people are and don't know it! —*Appeal to Reason*.

"Onward, Christian Soldiers!" The French Army will shortly be in possession of 11 airships and 30 aeroplanes.

Justice Burnside, of Westralia, is almost as callous and brutal as some of our N.S.W. judges. In sentencing a human derelict—who is the unnatural corollary of the Judge's class—to seven years' jail, Burnside just mocked the unfortunate and jibed at his condition. In sentencing another man—product of the system Burnside's class stands for—the judge taunted the prisoner with being "no good to society." The prisoner might have retorted that in that case he was like the judge—but he didn't. Some day society will just fall on the bewigged criminal on the bench who hurls brutal insults at the more unfortunate criminal in the dock.

Two items, to be read together:

A distressing story was told by a mother at a London inquest on her little son. She had been deserted by her husband, and had to support herself and the children. On the day of the boy's death she had gone across the road to her mother's to get some food, and on returning found the boy had been badly burned. A police constable said that when the little lad caught fire he was standing in front of the fire-place looking up at the chimney, and asking Father Christmas to send down food as he was starving! The one room in which the family lived was clean and tidy, but there was no trace of food. The mother fainted outside the Court from exhaustion.

The Princess of Wales has a fan covered with 6,520 woodcock feathers, from the wings of 3,260 woodcocks, there being only one feather of the sort in each wing. The Prince of Wales supplied the birds, and the making of the fan occupied one hour a day of a woman's time for more than a year.

The fire brigade at Orange has been on strike, the members having "downed tools" in a protest against new regulations. A sub-district officer has been transferred as a result of the trouble, and the local Mayor was censured by his Council for taking an active part in the dispute. There has also been a fire-brigade strike at Casino.

The fillers at the Vale of Clwydd mine struck work on Wednesday of last week, refusing to accept the rate of sevenpence-halfpenny fixed by the Wages Board. The miners and other employees continued at work. The manager declared himself confident that he wouldn't have much trouble to get blacklegs to fill the strikers' places. Wanted, Revolutionary Unionism.

F. B. Silvester writes in *London Justice*: On January 27, 1910, the trial of Peter Bowling, Daniel Hutton, James Butler and Wm. O'Connor for having taken part in a strike meeting at Bulli, on December 29, was concluded in the Industrial Court, Sydney, N.S.W. The former was sent to prison for twelve months, and the other three for eight months. Since then Bowling's sentence has been increased on other charges to two years and six months, and five other strike leaders arrested in connection with the dispute have been sentenced to one year and six months' imprisonment. While the strike was in progress the Wade Government passed the Industrial Disputes

(Amendment) Act, 1909, with the object of penalising strike leaders or employees who instigate or aid a lock-out or strike. The Labor Leaders, W. M. Hughes and G. S. Beeby, instead of urging the workers to resist this infamous law, endeavoured to break the strike by persuading the men to return to work. The former also dissolved a Congress which had been convened with the object of continuing the strike. Had it not been for the courageous action of Peter Bowling, who took steps to convene another Congress, the cowardly desertion of W. M. Hughes from the first Congress might have broken the strike. Fortunately, Bowling's defiant deed kept the strike going; but he was promptly arrested and sent to gaol. He is proud of what he has done, for he believes it is the intention of the Government to break the back of unionism, against which he and the other strike leaders rose in defiance. This has happened in a colony whose laws some of our Labor leaders at home hold up as a shining example of what a Labor Party may accomplish in the way of Labor legislation. But, apparently, Wages Boards and Arbitration Acts do not, out there, prevent the workers and their employers from coming into conflict. On the contrary, it is confidently asserted by our Australian comrades that unionism in Australia has achieved better results for the workers than anything that has ever been done for them by means of Labor legislation.

The *Star* called the Cab Drivers award a "material rise." If the cabbies keep on getting rises like that, they'll soon be working 25 hours out of every 24.

The *Catholic Press*, which so strongly supported the Labor Party, especially against the Socialists, is now attacking the Labor Party because Hugh Mahon was not given a portfolio. The *Press* hints that sectarianism is at the bottom of Mahon's defeat, and declares: "Let the Catholics once suspect that in this party, too, their creed is discriminated against, and the movement will be torn by dissension, and its strength and popularity will for ever disappear."

The *Freeman's Journal* also rebukes the Labor Party for having omitted to make Mahon a Minister of the Crown.

In modern society the tools of production are owned by a small class (in this analysis we can rule out the petty traders, retailers, and small shopkeepers; they do not own the means of production), and the workers, who have no share in that ownership, are subject to that small class. Being a subject class, whose economic title deeds are invalid, they have no say as to what method of production shall prevail; they have no say in determining the economic relations between either individual capitalists or between themselves and their masters. They have no say in the contracts arising from those economic relations, and no say in the laws that provide for the smooth working and enforcement of those contracts.—*Industrial Unionist*.

The stockbroking firm of Furner and Brownhill, Sydney, say in their stock and share list for April that "it is the simple duty of every good citizen to support Mr. Andrew Fisher and his Government in realising their expressed intentions to maintain the fair fame and prestige of Australia, and to make it the happy home of teeming millions of the British and other European races, while, at the same time, doing all in our power to prevent the extremists of the party from giving effect to their crude revolutionary theories."

Take the whole bunch of scheming politicians. Add wealth, add privilege, add class traditions. Throw in the courts to seal all deeds of power—And what are these when comes the people's hour? We are the people, rousing after slumber; We are the working masses—note our number. At last we feel as feels the man and brother. And rush to ranks, intent to help each other. By the Eternal, equal rights are ours To mines and mills, to smelt fields and flowers.

A post card message of cheer from Broken Hill:—"Received THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST. An inspiring number; form and style very pleasing; contents O.K. 'Fight On!' strikes boldly, is an able article, and supplies a psychological need. R.S.R. ('Centre of Conflict') strips the core to disclose the worm, is terribly realistic. Would like to see Brady's verse set to music. Every line in I.S. appreciated, but P.C.s. have their limitations.—Yours for the Revolution,—L.M.A."

The *Newsletter* is obtaining all the suppressed evidence in the Pericles enquiry case, and will publish it in due course.

Send a Sample Copy of this paper to you to see if you like it.

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And all Newsagents.

"The time has come," the Walrus said,
"To speak of many things:
Of ships, and shoes, and sealing wax,
Of cabbages, and kings,
And why the sea is boiling hot,
And whether pigs have wings."

The King.

BY H.E.H.

THE King is dead! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE!

THERE is always sorrow when Death's grim shadow falls across the threshold of a home; and we need not say that we Socialists sympathise with King Edward's family in the matter of their bereavement just as we would extend human sympathy to any other bereaved family.

The Socialist movement has never had any quarrel with the late King as an individual. Like all the rest of us, he was the creature of his environment. Possibly he was quite as good as that environment would permit him to be.

But we do not join in the general frenzy of fulsome lying that at this stage fills the pages of every newspaper one takes up. Some one has said that

Half the lies of this lying race
Are written on stone in the burial place.

It's safe to say that a fair number are printed with large black headlines, alongside of turned column rules, when a king dies.

The King is essentially the figure-head of the prevailing system.

The prevailing system is that of profit-making.

In other words, a certain small section of the people, known to-day as the capitalist class, holds control of all the factors of wealth-production, and demands toll of the workers before granting them access to those factors—the land and the machinery and tools with which the necessities of life are produced.

This toll amounts to more than two-thirds of the wealth Labor creates.

As a result of this system of producing and distributing the necessities of life, the Class State has been evolved. The Class State is the machinery that is operated by the ruling class to enforce this toll levied on the useful workers, and to maintain—by legal enactments where possible, and by force of arms where necessary—the "right" of the exploiters to still continue the levying of such toll.

In Britain, an integral portion of the machinery of the Class State is a limited or "constitutional" monarchy.

It would not be any different, so far as the workers are concerned, if "republicanism" of the American or French order were substituted.

The Republic would still be the Class State.

The King's principal business is to do as he is told—by the representatives of the ruling class. If he refuses to do that, he is in danger of losing his job.

Both Queen Victoria and King Edward were bitterly opposed to the Boer War; but neither of them could rise to greater strength than British Capitalism, and neither dared to give public expression to their known detestation of the crime that was then being committed in the interests of International Capitalism.

The Labor Government, in its message of condolence, declares that we are all proud to owe allegiance to the British Kingdom. As we have said, the British Kingdom is part of the machinery of the Class State, is wholly representative of Capitalism, and stands for the right of a small section of the people to hold the land and machinery of production, to levy toll on the honest workers, and to live without honest work themselves.

The mission of the working class is to change the present system of producing the necessities of life; to declare the Socialist Republic.

When Capitalism goes, every ap-
paratus of Capitalism will go, too.

When Capitalism goes, the Class State goes. When the Class State goes, the monarchical institution goes with it.

Therefore, since the mission of the Working Class is to win economic freedom, through the destruction of the Class State, it is the mission of the Working Class to destroy Monarchy, and to substitute working-class control and administration.

And, therefore, the Government or Party that hastens to shout from the housetops its pride to owe allegiance to the monarchical institution proclaims its own economic stupidity—its own inability to either read aright the lessons of the past or to appreciate what is inevitable in the future.

The Inevitability of the Future is the Socialist Republic.

Nearly 100 Hours a Week.

The Cab Drivers in the Mud.

LAST week the Wages Board declared wages and conditions for the Cab Drivers.

There are some, of course, who will say that the award is a good thing for the cabbies—but the cabbies are unreasonable enough not to think so.

It has been the boast of the Labor Party and unions supporting it that we have practically achieved the eight-hours day in Australia.

This award fixes the hours for drivers of horse-cabs at NINETY-ONE and SEVENTY-EIGHT for alternate weeks (so as to give every second Sunday off). This means an average of EIGHTY-FOUR AND A HALF HOURS PER WEEK, and the pay is to be 40s per week, or LESS THAN SIXPENCE PER HOUR—a magnificent wage surely for an occupation that is both arduous and dangerous.

While the cabby's remuneration is to be less than sixpence an hour, he is to be docked for lost time at the rate of one shilling per hour! So that if a cabby loses, "by default," 40 hours in a week, he may find himself working, in a 91 hours week, the other 51 hours for nothing, or in a 78 hours' week, 38 hours for nothing!

If a horse-cab driver is required to wash and clean the cab he uses, he is to receive a whole 2s 6d a week extra for doing it. If he cleans his horse and harness, he is to get yet another 2s 6d.

And so, if he works something over 100 hours a week, our cabby may even earn as much as 15s!—always provided that he loses no time for which he is liable to be penalised.

The clause in the award which provides for the payment of overtime must have been drafted while the Board was in humorous mood, for it's hard to imagine the cabbies working overtime after a hundred-hours' week of ordinary time, unless they can solve the problem of how to do without sleep.

The drivers of taxi-cabs have fared little better than the horse-drivers. The motor men are to work alternate weeks of 84 and 72 hours, with overtime at the rate of 1s 6d an hour.

The cabmen aren't satisfied with their award. Their demands were exceedingly modest—far too modest, indeed. They only asked for a 72-hours' week or 144 hours a fortnight, but the award provided 160 hours a fortnight. The claim for £2 5s a week had met with the board's decision of £2, and the request for one day a week off was answered by allowing one day a fortnight. Work on Christmas Day and Good Friday was to be paid for at 1s an hour, instead of 2s, as asked. For casual labor the union asked 1s 6d an hour, and got 1s. Taxi-drivers got £2 5s a week, instead of the £3 asked. The claim that men should not lodge with their employers was ignored, despite evidence about men having to sleep in feed rooms, over horse stalls, and in rooms infested by vermin.

And still the Labor Party and the unions which support them refuse to trust the workers to fix their own wages and conditions, and declare that the selling price of labor can only be determined by a Board on which the employers have two-thirds of the representation.

So long as the Wages Boards and Arbitration Courts of Capitalism exist, so long will there be trouble for the wage-workers.

Let the cabbies get up out of the mud.

They can get better conditions through the strength and by the united force of their union than any capitalist Board or Court can ever give them.

The Madness of Mr. Wade!

AT the Clifton Police Court on Thursday of last week, before Mr. Elliott, P.M., Mr. John Curtis, a miner, was charged with "using insulting language within the hearing of persons in a public place."

Over a month ago Mrs. Lynch and H. E. Holland visited Scarborough in response to a local invitation, and addressed a public meeting on the subject of Socialism. In the course of their remarks, they both attacked the Wade Government for its brutality in connection with the recent strike, and Holland moved a resolution demanding the release of the strike prisoners. This motion Mr. Curtis seconded, and in the course of his remarks said he hoped the day would come when the unionists would not be frightened by a few policemen—or a few paltry policemen. Shortly afterwards, he was served with a summons for using insulting language!

The case was adjourned on two occasions, but on Thursday finality was reached. Mr. Curtis pleaded not guilty, and several witnesses gave evidence in his favor.

The P.M. held that the case was proved, and inflicted a fine of 1s, with 16s 6d costs!

Surely there was never a more paltry or spitefully pitiable prosecution than this! We do not suggest that the local police could have been responsible for such a piece of muddled madness. We assume that the Government, knowing that the meeting was to be held, instructed the police to report and get a case if the opportunity presented.

The only opportunity apparently was in the words "a few paltry police," used on private land!

The police may not have been paltry, but it is surely a paltry-minded

Government that could order the spending of public money to prosecute such a case—a case for which the magistrate appears to have shown his contempt by the infliction of a fine of ONE SHILLING.

It seems as if the Wade mis-Government was getting madder every day.

Socialism: what is It?

BY J. R. WILSON.

SOMEONE has said that of all the books in the world, the Bible is the most widely read and the least understood. In a sense the same is true of Socialism. Men use the word glibly who scarcely comprehend its real meaning. Others condemn all it stands for and yet could not tender a definition if asked to do so. While among the clergy, who are ever a drag on the wheel of progress, the word Socialism has of recent date become quite popular. Yet, in spite of the fact that the Socialist is abroad, and that Socialist literature is to be found in every village and city of importance, there are hundreds who still ask, What is Socialism? The worker asks the question because he has been told that it means comfort for him and his class; the business man asks the question because he has been told that it means confiscation; and the girl in the modern factory (or sweat-shop) because she has been told that it means the breaking up of the home.

What then is Socialism?
To be quite plain, it is both an interpretation of history, and of how Society can be scientifically organised to conduct all industry in its own interests. It means that the producers of all wealth, the mental and manual workers, shall collectively own and control the land, mines, factories, and machines of production, and that all those things necessary for human comfort and well-being, socially created, shall be socially distributed. It is the direct antithesis of the existing order of Society. Capitalism stands for private ownership of the means of life; Socialism for the collective ownership of the means of life. Capitalism for Production for Profit, Socialism for Production for Use. Capitalism for Wealth and Luxury for the Few, and Grinding Poverty for the Many; Socialism for Well-being for All, and the ending forever of Human Slavery.

Well-being for all and the ending forever of human slavery!

Contrast that with the present system, with its armies of unemployed, its ill-fed children, its women walking beneath the lamps, compelled by forces over which they have no control, to sell their bodies to the wolves of lust. "Ah," but some will remark, "those idle men are drunkards that won't work; and those ill-clad children, their father spends his money in beer when he should buy them clothes; and that girl with the angel face that sells her body on the street, she prefers a life of sin and idleness to a fireside of content."

But stay, friends, not so fast, and I will endeavor to explain the phenomenon of unemployment—the reason why children are ill-clad; and the cause of that girl's downfall. And in order to do this we must reason together; we must also understand a little about the present system of Wealth Production.

I have said that Socialism is the direct antithesis of the present system; that Socialism means collective ownership of those things which to-day are privately owned by a few. You admit that a few own the land, mines, factories, and means of transport; and that the great bulk of the people own nothing, not even the tools of production with which they operate. And you claim that all should be well-fed and clothed and housed. Very good. Now, is it not evident the great majority who own nothing must live somehow? And in order to live they are compelled to ask the owners of the land and machines of production for work. The owners of those things, the capitalist class, are interested in Profit, and only employ men and women when they can make a profit out of them—that is, when those employed can produce more than their wages. You will also readily admit that every new machine means greater power to create commodities, with an ever-decreasing expenditure of human labor. And so, when fewer men and women are required to produce food and clothing and do the necessary and useful work, and when we understand that this is going on in all spheres of industrial activity, we have the reason why men are idle, children ill-clad, and our women forced upon the street. Men are idle, it is true, but it is not their wish. Capitalism cannot employ them. Children cry for food, but it is not because food is scarce! There is more than enough. And the girl on the street, she is there because under Capitalism she cannot live on the wage offered her, or because she cannot get work; not because she deliberately chooses a life of degradation and shame.

Socialism means in place of this disorder, harmony; in place of this want and woe, well-being for all, and the opportunity for all to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

Look here, don't you miss that Enchire Party!

The Working-class Movement in Denmark.

BY TH. STANNING, M.P.

(Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party in the Danish Parliament.)

TRANSLATED BY O. W. JORDENSEN.

THE little northern European country, Denmark, with fully 2,000,000 inhabitants, can rejoice in a healthy, growing Social-Democratic movement, the history of which I, as requested, shall endeavor to outline.

The origin of the movement dates back to 1871, when the struggles for liberty in France re-echoed through the countries of the world, and the foundation of the movement was at once socialistic.

In conjunction with the Socialist organisation formed in London in 1866, called the Internationale, a Socialist Workingman's Union was started in the metropolis of Denmark, Copenhagen, with several branches—so-called Tradesseksions—the present Trades Unions. The year 1871 also saw the start of a Socialist paper, *Socialisten* (the present *Socialdemokraten*), which paper, in spite of colossal difficulties, has been continued through the intervening years, extended in every sense, and grown to be the paper with the greatest circulation in the country. Its daily circulation is 56,000 copies. This paper has, further, been the foundation and the economic factor in establishing 33 other Socialist papers in different towns.

The Danish working class movement as outlined above is seen to have been from its birth a class-conscious Socialist movement, and it naturally met the most ruthless opposition from the ruling authorities. In 1873 the "Internationale" was suppressed by the police, and the leaders were thrown into jail; but the movement did not succumb. It reorganised in new forms, but with the same ideals as in 1871. The trade-sections became independent Trades Unions, which blossomed forth in trade after trade, with continual growing power, and the "Internationale" became "Socialdemokratisk Forbund in Denmark," with the political organisation of the workers and a close connection with the movement in other countries for its object.

The organisations have spread all over the country, the Socialist agitation is penetrating everywhere, the Socialist Press has become powerful, and the workers in Denmark are imbued with Socialist ideas. There is only one working-class organisation in Denmark, the one founded on Socialism.

The Trades Unions have in all respects been the mainstay of the Danish workers, but there has not on that account developed a special Trades Union policy. The Unions are not political, nor directly connected with the Party, but the unionists are mainly Socialist, and many ties are connecting the Unions and the Socialist Party. The paper, the *Socialdemokraten*, which originally was started as the private property of Louis Pio, was in the strenuous times of the early days supported financially from the Unions, and at last these, in conjunction with the Socialdemocratic Party took it over and kept it going in spite of all attempts to suppress it. In this way was the strongest tie created. The paper is directed by an executive chosen from the Unions and the Party. This executive selects the editor, manager and other officials, and in all respects is the highest authority in connection with the production and control of the paper.

When the paper started to produce a surplus, the Unions never entertained any idea of getting their money returned, but did the fundamentally correct thing in starting new papers in the different districts of the country, and supporting them from the funds of the original paper. The whole of the Socialist Press is thus owned by the workers, directed by their appointed executive, and in all respects absolutely independent of private capitalists. This arrangement has, of course, been vital in securing the Unity of the Danish movement, and has been essential in preventing any opportunity for other papers exploiting the workers. The Socialist Press belongs to the workers, and the organised workers understand that they would be acting against their own interests if they did not support their own papers.

Further means of adherence between the Unions and the Party is provided, first through the fact that the leading men in the Unions are also the spokesmen in the Party; secondly through the continual co-operation in meetings to discuss important questions, Trades Unions fights, and political measures, and in the issue of proclamations, organisation of demonstrations, etc.; and finally this co-operation has given itself further expression in the fact that the general Trades Unions organisation (the co-operative Trades Unions) elects a delegation which takes its place on the executive of the Party, while this again elects delegates who on their side represent the movement on the executive of the Co-operative Trades Unions. Further, the discussion and decision of questions of importance to both sides of the movement is decided by conference of delegates from both the industrial and political organisation, and even in the choice of candidature there is a definite system under the dictates for both political and communal repre-

the Unions are co-electors. Never has the Socialist Party had reason to be dissatisfied with this arrangement; on the contrary, there is all reason to express the highest degree of satisfaction, for all this co-operation has created and preserved the unity of the Party and advanced the workers as a compact army on both the industrial and political field.

The industrial side of the movement has, of course, had its difficulties; but with perseverance trade after trade has been organised, struggle after struggle fought, and victory after victory gained. As an example of the growth of the organisations, I append a few figures:

From 1871-1878, 31 Trades Unions were formed, with a membership of 3,189. These same 31 unions had in 1899, 16,146 members.

The present number of Trades Unions is 84, with about 1500 branches, and about 125,000 members; of these about 100,000 belong to the Co-operative Trades Unions (the general Trades Union Organisation).

In 1886 the first centralisation of the Unions was accomplished; and at the same time their connection with the Party was established by the mutual representation on the executives as already mentioned.

In 1898 the combinations of the Unions was estimated to include all the Unions in the country (the general Trades Union Organisation which includes the country Unions, mainly consisting of single trades). This extension had already been foreshadowed by former Scandinavian and International Workingmen's Congresses.

This last extension found at once adherence from 38 Unions, with 61,244 members; and, as has already been seen, has had a continual steady growth.

To specify the results of the Trades Union movement would of course be very difficult, as it extends in so many directions, but a few examples will give an understanding of its advance.

Wages in the different trades advanced to the extent of 59 per cent. in the period from 1872-1899 for which time statistics are available, and the increase has been continual since. The hours worked—which in 1872 commonly were 11 and 12, in some trades more, and in a few even more than 15—have been reduced in the same time to 8, 9, and 10 hours.

The Socialist papers in Denmark, which, as already stated, belong to the Unions, number 33, of which 12 are leading papers, and their daily circulation amounts to 120,000 copies. We also publish a weekly paper devoted to satirical criticism, and another weekly specially devoted to country workers.

The co-operative movement has also been made use of in the service of the workers, although to a smaller extent. In Copenhagen we conduct a bakery, brewery, and a dairy, and lesser activities such as blacksmithing, joinery, masonry, and carpentry.

In the country we also have several bakeries, breweries and coal depots, also co-operative stores, but these last do not to any extent belong to the workers' organisations.

The political Social-democratic side of the Party has had a corresponding growth.

There has been formed about 400 political organisations as branches of the Party in the different towns and municipalities of the country—one in every third municipality, with a total membership of about 45,000.

The Party has to a great extent participated in the municipal elections, and has obtained considerable representation—about 1200 members. In the elections for Parliament (Folketinget) in 1909, the Party got 24 members elected out of a possible total of 114. The Party put up candidates, in 73 electorates, and polled 93,000 votes out of 320,000 votes recorded. (The right to vote is confined to men over 30 years of age.)

The Party has also four representatives in the Upper House (Landstinget), which consists of 66 members, 12 of whom are nominated by the king, 27 chosen by the Census Election (capitalists' and landlords' privilege), and 27 elected on the same basis as the Lower House.

Our strength in Parliament is, of course, not sufficient to force any great measures through; nevertheless we have been able to make our influence felt.

There has, for example, been enacted measures in the interest of old age pensions and assistance in case of sickness and unemployment. At the same time the Party has carried on an intense agitation against militarism and also against increasing import duties and other burdens of taxation.

Of the measures enacted may be mentioned: Old-age pensions for destitute men and women over 60 years of age, on which 8,000,000 Danish crowns are annually expended by the State and Municipalities.

Two million crowns are yearly paid from the State to the Sick Funds formed and controlled by the workers. These funds provide for doctor, hospital, medicine, and sick pay.

Six hundred thousand crowns yearly assistance is given by the State towards the insurance fund against unemployment established by the unions. This fund also receives considerable amounts from municipalities where the workers are strongly represented.

There is also a measure on the statute book which makes it obligatory for the employers to pay compensation to workers meeting with

accidents—partly fixed amounts per day, stipulated amounts for complete invalidity, and 3000 crowns to the heirs in case of death resulting from accident. This measure only includes at the present time workers engaged in tending machinery, building, seafaring, farming, and forestry, but will undoubtedly be quickly extended.

In all these cases—old age pensions, sickness, accidents, and unemployment—there formerly existed no other form of relief but the public workhouses and charities, and as support from these channels deprived the individual of his political and civic rights, it can easily be seen that the above measures have real value for the working-class.

Further must be mentioned the demand made by the Party in Parliament for complete disarmament: the disbanding of the army and navy, and the extinction of all fortifications. We have here acted in accordance with the International Socialist Congress resolution, and have strongly assisted in the creation of an anti-military spirit both in this country and outside its borders. The election in 1909 was fought on this question, and, as already mentioned, we then polled 93,000 votes. Of course, we have not been able to carry this demand through, but the success of our agitation has been instrumental in preventing extensive armaments, which were proposed mainly by the conservative jingo party, and the feeling against war and militarism is growing so strongly that the Socialists, in connection with a radical anti-militarist party, have good prospects of being enabled to conduct a powerful crusade against militarism, with great hopes of reducing the reasonless heavy burden of armaments.

This, then, is the position of the Danish Socialdemocracy. A growing unification in industrial and political organisations. An intense class-consciousness in the ranks of the workers, and a continual growth of the powers of the Party.

The Danish Socialdemocracy is indissolubly connected with the Social Democracy of other countries. Our goal is identical: the destruction of Capitalism, the victory of Socialism. The means to attain our end is the organisation of the workers and the conquest of the political power through the ballot-box.

(The foregoing article was written for our May Day issue, but did not reach us until last week's mail. Ed.)

May Day in Melbourne.

THE *Times* of May 2 reports:—A woman with a blood-red leaflet pinned to her navy blue jacket sat on the steps of the Eight-hours monument in Spring-street yesterday afternoon. This brilliant red looked well against the dark navy blue, and being a woman she knew it. Beside her were other women wearing red geraniums, and at their feet were furled red flags and white flags inscribed with red letters. Men with red ribbons in their coats stood round the monument, and boys distributed red sheets of labor songs. There was a touch of red everywhere. It was the symbol of the May Day celebration; or, as a speaker subsequently put it, "the symbol of the red blood that flows through our veins."

The flags were unfurled, a man mounted the steps—Mr. E. Lewis, of the May Day committee—and faced some hundreds of people, eager socialists in the centre, curious onlookers on the flanks. "We will sing a hymn," said Mr. Lewis, and the May Day celebration was begun. "There Sounds a Call" was sung to the tune of "The Watch on the Rhine," then the Labor "Marschallaise."

Mr. Lewis afterwards gave an address. "We are not considered respectable," he said. "That is why we are not better supported. Our movement is unpopular now, but when it becomes popular, how they will rush to join us!" Three cheers for May Day, someone called.

The crowd walked quickly down the roadway behind half-a-dozen flags, bearing such inscriptions as "May Day," "We demand social revolution," "The Broken Hill unionists are still in jail."

To arms! to arms! ye heroes!

The swinging sword unsheathed.

March on! march on!

All hearts divided

On Liberty or Death

They sang on as they passed along Swanston-street, the marching feet keeping time with the singing. Among them walked several constables, taking the names of the flag-bearers. Soon after they had crossed Collins-street, three constables stepped in front of the leaders and cried "Halt!" The flag-bearers obeyed the command, but the rear ranks pressed on, still singing the "Marschallaise," and drowning the voices of the policemen. "March on! March on! Liberty or death!" they shouted angrily; the constables stepped aside, and the procession passed on, with the flags waving higher in the air, and the singing more vigorous than ever.

Between seven and eight thousand people collected on the Yarra bank to listen to the speakers from the three platforms of the May Day committee, and to the upholder of

anarchy, whose banner flapped high above the crowd.

The absence of representatives of the Parliamentary Labor Party from the platforms was bitterly felt by the May Day committee. "Recently," said Mr. T. C. Harte, vice-president of the committee, "it appeared that the Labor Party had taken a back seat in regard to supporting us. It is now clear that the Labor party will not support us at the present juncture. Nevertheless this is a movement that will always be in the van of progress, as far as the workers are concerned. Many people think that the victory of the Labor party at the election is all we need, but it is only one step along the progressive lines we have laid out." (Applause.)

The customary resolutions were moved. In submitting the first in favor of the abolition of capitalism, Mr. C. J. Curtin said that, as the flag showed, "the unionists were still in jail." The Labor majority was in Parliament, and the workers were in jail. (Shame.) The time had therefore arrived when the working class must exhibit a different spirit from that which it had displayed in the past. No self-respecting unionist, no lover of liberty, ought to rest content while in the jails of a democratic community were lying helpless men who had committed no crime, men who were the very salt of the earth, without whom corruption would eat into the very heart of society. (Applause.)

Mr. R. S. Ross, in seconding the resolution, submitted that the Lord Mayor had not prohibited the procession from the Eight Hours monument in the interests of good government, but firstly because of his political bias, and secondly because of his own religious bias. The respectability and the cowardice of the Political Labor Council were shown in the ultimatum it had issued to members that they must not take part in the celebration of May Day. That showed the degeneration and decay of the Labor party. Because they could not get one particular Labor plank they refused their support to nineteen other planks. That was an indication of the reaction that was manifesting itself throughout the Labor movement.

A voice: More Trenwiths.
The first resolution having been passed unanimously, Mr. E. J. Price moved the second providing for a working day of six hours or less.

Mr. T. Brown seconded the motion.
Mr. Angus McDermott said that he was opposed to any party that did not carry with it the overthrow of capital in all its forms. At every previous May Day celebration the Labor Party had attended on the Yarra Bank. Senator Pearce moved on that spot many times a resolution against militarism in all its forms, yet the very party that had been fighting against militarism was the first party to bring in a plank for compulsory militarism in the Commonwealth.

In addition to the ordinary May Day resolutions, it was decided—"That in recording its indignant protest at the imprisonment of trades union officials and others in connection with the coal strike, this mass meeting calls upon the working class of Australia to persist in a vigorous agitation, designed to free men it believes to have been jailed for defending vital trades union liberties and rights."

Gaiety Theatre Meeting.

The May Day resolutions were adopted by a large meeting in the Gaiety Theatre the same evening. Mr. R. S. Ross, secretary of the Socialist party, was in the chair.

Mr. E. J. Price, representing the Socialist Federation, said that no party could represent both capitalists and workers, and yet when they read the sickening stuff of Labor politicians it was found that these politicians were trying to represent John Brown, the millionaire coal-mine owner, and Peter Bowling. (Laughter.)

Mr. Fleming considered that the non-appearance of Labor members on the Yarra bank was "the first act of treachery" of members of Parliament towards the workers. (Applause.) Bowling and Co. would never get out of jail if there was not an agitation outside the Federal Labor party. It was the anti-militarist resolution in the May Day platform that kept Labor members away.

Answers to Correspondents.

LUNA (Broken Hill), and G.A. (Queensland).—Thanks.

J. McD. (Q.).—Receiving attention. T.S. (Newtown), F.W. (Pymont), W.A.S. (Sydney), P.M. [West Wallsend].—Replies next week.

T.B. [Manly].—No, it doesn't mean that at all. The decision was reached because the majority was not satisfied that anything else was financially possible.

Socialists and Free Love

DURING the recent election campaign in Great Britain, the following advt. was printed in various papers and issued in leaflet form all over the country, viz. :—

ENEMIES OF THE RED FLAG.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY
and the
ABOLITION OF MARRIAGE.

Speaking in Kentish Town on Nov. 12, 1907.

MR. H. QUELCH,

Editor of *Justice*, the organ of the Social-Democratic Party, said :

"I am in favor of Free Love. What love are we in favor of if we are not in favor of Free Love? I do want to abolish Marriage. We want no Marriage Bond; we want no bonds at all. We do want Free Love."

What do Englishwomen think of This?

Justice of April 2 says, in reference to the foregoing :—

These statements have been contradicted scores of times. It is *not* true that the utterances therein quoted were ever made. They consist of what purport to be extracts from a speech; but are a garbled travesty of what was said.

On the occasion referred to, the calumnious attacks of the so-called anti-Socialist campaign were dealt with, and special reference was made to the charges that Socialists were Atheists and evil-livers and that Socialism meant Atheism and free love. It was pointed out that these charges had absolutely nothing to do with the fundamental principles of Socialism, and that violent Atheists and practical "free lovers," as the term is generally understood, were to be found among the bitterest opponents of Socialism. It was further shown that religion is, and always has been, regarded by our party as a private matter; and with regard to "Free Love," it was submitted that sex relations, like all other social relations, are determined by economic conditions, and with the change of those conditions would necessarily undergo modifications. In that relation the speech was practically a paraphrase of an article in the *Social Democrat* for August, 1907, in which the Social-Democratic position in this regard was fairly stated by the speaker on the occasion in question, and from which we quote the following :—

"How completely that relation between man and woman which can have no ethical sanction except that of pure affection has been subverted to a mere material question of property; and how long ideas continue to dominate the mind even after the conditions from which they have been evolved have disappeared, is demonstrated by the objection raised to Socialism by our opponents, that communism necessarily involves the community of wives! Because women have been chattels in the past, so they must always be chattels—always property—either of the individual, or of the community. But in all civilized countries woman has long since emerged from the chattel stage. She is no longer property. She is a human being as free as, and the social equal of, man. The social revolution, which makes all the means of production common property, will not thrust woman back into the position of a chattel. It will abolish the last vestige of sex subjection or sex privilege on one side as well as the other, and will make men and women equal and free, economically, socially and politically."

"This, above all, must be quite clear, that when all men and women are economically free and socially equal, prostitution will be impossible, and whatever relations may be entered into between men and women will and can have no other basis than mutual affection. There will be none of the material or 'moral'

coercion which to-day condemns the thousands of women to a life of shame and infamy, and others, more envied by society, though scarcely more fortunate, to lifelong prostitution under the guise of marriage, and with the sanctification of the Church. The material considerations, the social conventions, which coerce an innocent girl to sell herself as the 'wife' of a senile but wealthy debauchee, as well as the horrible poverty which forces her humbler sister to the streets and the brothel, will have no place in a society in which all men and women are free and equal, where there will be plenty for all, and where neither man nor woman will need to sell honor, or body, or soul, for bread. For Socialism *does* mean Free Love, but only in the sense that, men and women being free, there will be no coercion to force either man or woman into relations which are repulsive, or to unwillingly suffer the embraces of another. Socialism does not mean, nor do Socialists suggest, that in the future—as in Heaven—there will be neither marrying nor giving in marriage; nor that there shall be sexual promiscuity or community of wives. All that is implied is that marriage contracts based upon property, supplemented by debauchery and buttressed by prostitution, will no longer be, because the social conditions which compel women to sell themselves either in the street or at the altar will have been abolished. Neither man nor woman will be the slave of another, either of his lust or his greed. That is a very different ideal, not only from that which our enemies misrepresent as Socialism, but from existing conditions, in which family life for the many is impossible, morality is a mere hypocritical figure of speech, and prostitution in one form or another is the basis of most social relations. Socialism, recognising the importance of the material conditions, seeks to socialise these in order that they shall be dominated by, and no longer dominate, all the higher life of humanity. To quote once more from the "Catechism," "Material conditions form the fundamental basis of human existence. When these become common property, free to all, and abundant for all, they will cease to have that importance they now possess, the sordid struggle for mere material things will disappear, free play will be given to man's higher faculties, and the struggle, competition, or emulation between man and man will be for the realisation of his highest conceivable aspirations. With his mind freed from the dreary cares now imposed by the perpetual struggle for daily bread, man will bend his thoughts on nobler things. Absolute master of the material circumstances of his life, his will must dominate and be no longer dominated by them, and such opportunities of existence, such scope of mental and moral gratification, such ideals and aspirations will open up before him as are at present inconceivable."

This from the "Labor" Prime Minister, whose party sometimes claims that its policy makes for the Socialist Republic :—"I can only join with all the citizens of this part of the Empire in an expression of profound regret at the death of our beloved sovereign, whose reign has been of such marked benefit to the kingdom to which we are all proud to own allegiance." Our italics.

Last week Strike-breaker Hughes presented a petition, signed by a number of Labor members, asking for the release of Messrs. Hutton, Butler, and O'Connor. The grounds on which their release is asked for is that "they are married men with families, that they had borne an irreproachable character, that they had never previously been convicted, and that their conduct in jail had been exemplary." The petition is an insult to the imprisoned men. It is a practical admission that they were justly jailed. When will the Labor Party get up out of the dirt?

Propaganda Fixtures.

DOMAİN—Miller (chair), McDonald, Wilson, Holland.
PARK-STREET—Harris (chair), Mrs. Harris, Wilson, MARTIN PLACE—Hotchkiss (chair), McDonald, Cass.

Socialist Fables.

The Cock and the Chick.

Once upon a time a young Chicken was industriously scratching about the yard in hopes of finding some food.

Long and patiently he toiled, unconscious that a fat old Cock was watching him from the shade of a near-by tree.

At last the Chick unearthed three large angle worms; but he was pounced upon by the Cock, who demanded two of the worms as his share.

The chick was amazed at the claim, asking the reason of it.

"I own the barnyard," replied the Cock.

"Have you any better right to the barnyard than my father, who was here before you?" inquired the Chick.

"Yes," was the reply, "I ran him from the barnyard two years ago."

"What other right have you to two-thirds of what I produce?" persisted the Chick.

"I am older and wiser and stronger than you," replied the Cock. "If I allowed you to keep what you produce it would destroy your incentive to work and break up the hen-roost."

So saying, the old Cock devoured the three worms, while the Chick, with a sigh, sought another part of the barnyard in which to scratch some more.—*Appeal to Reason.*

The Dignity of Labor :

Crucifixion on a Cross of Plunder.

An explosion of "blackdamp" has been responsible for the death of 185 men in the Pale mine, Alabama, U.S.A. A clerk who was 100 yards away from the mouth of the mine was killed instantly.

Edward McDonald, groom, was kicked by a horse he was tending at Darling Harbor cattle siding, and sustained a severe lacerated wound on the right leg above the knee.

Frank Quinn, wharf laborer, was struck by a case of galvanised iron, receiving a compound fracture of the left leg.

William Eddy, 24 years in the Western railway service, hanged himself last week to escape from the conditions imposed by State Capitalism.

Thomas Creed, milk carter, had his leg fractured and sustained a wound over the eye, by being thrown from the cart he was driving.

George Ford, a young miner, was crushed to death by a fall of stone in South Greta colliery on Thursday morning.

A miner named Harding, was injured by a fall of rock in the South mine at Broken Hill on Wednesday of last week, and died on Thursday.

James Chapman, laborer, working at 76 Market-street, Sydney, was pinned to the ground by a falling girder on Monday, sustaining severe lacerated wounds and abrasions to the legs and body.

At Gosford, John Foley, a railway employee, was struck by a train, and sustained a fracture and laceration of the left arm, as well as injuries to the head and body.

John Cunningham, an employee at Jinden, was thrown from his horse while riding after cattle, and was seriously injured. His jaw was broken, and he received other injuries to his head.

George Thomas Green, miner, was killed at the Junction North mine, Broken Hill, by a fall of earth.

Whilst carrying a load of bricks at a new building at Tanworth, William Brown fell 12 or 13 feet on to some scaffolding. He sustained severe injuries to his knee.

Sydney *Worker*—whose controllers are evidently smarting under the lash of the revelations made by our Melbourne contributor—writes down the S.F.A. postcards as "gutter" methods. These cards show in contrast the residences of the miners and their exploiters. No. 1 shows the splendid residence of Strike-breaker Hughes and the hovel some of the miners are compelled to live in under the system Hughes and the Labor Party stand for. No. 2 shows the residence of Wallsend manager Ross and also the residences of some Wallsend miners. Of course, we can understand the *Worker* objecting. "A fellow feeling makes one wondrous kind." And a lively apprehension that Brother Hector's own house, or those of fellow-workers Dan Green and Barney Allen, might likewise get into print, tends to make Brother Hector wondrous wild. But when the *Worker* talks of gutter methods, we can't help remembering that the night before the recent election a leaflet was circulated, with the *Worker's* imprint on it, alleging that "Holland had never done anything but live on Unionism, that he was even then living on the contributions of deluded men and women, and that he was a parasite on the unions," together with a number of other equally mendacious assertions. Mr. Lamond of the *Worker* saw that leaflet issue from his office, personally knew that every statement it contained with regard to Holland was a cowardly and impudent lie—and yet he allowed it to go out, and took money for sending it out. "Gutter methods!" The A.W.U. ought to be proud of the way its plant is used!

Socialist Federation of Australasia.

Principles and Policy.

1. Objective.

The socialization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

2. Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and the machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth that sustains society, while it is held in complete economic and industrial subjection to the capitalist class, which lives on the wealth produced by the working class.

To enable the working class to wage the class-war, it must be fully conscious of the wrongs inflicted upon the workers by the capitalist class; and it must organize industrially to voice its wrongs and assert its claims. Then it will be prepared for political action to overthrow the usurping class and to abolish classes for ever.

The deaths by starvation, the millions of unemployed, the excessive toil for bare subsistence, the poverty, crime, and consequent misery, are all the direct outcome of domination by the ruling class. That class must go.

The Socialist Federation of Australasia demands common ownership of all agencies of wealth production by the people themselves and the control of all industrial affairs on the basis of social equality.

The workers of Australia must, without delay, take up their position along with the organized, class-conscious workers of all other countries. There is no escape from the thrall of capitalism short of its complete overthrow, and this can only be achieved by the class-conscious industrial and political strength of the working class.

The Socialist Federation of Australasia, therefore, calls upon all workers to forthwith identify themselves with the existing Socialist organizations in their respective States, and to work unceasingly for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system, and for the emancipation of their class from wage slavery.

3. Guiding Rule.

The Socialist Federation of Australasia shall always and everywhere, until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct :—Will the proposal advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist Federation is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Federation is absolutely opposed to it.

4. As to Palliatives.

Whereas the advocacy of political palliatives (so-called) tends to obscure the working-class objective of emancipation from wage slavery, and thus causes the workers to extend time and effort to little purpose; and

Whereas political palliatives (so-called) as adopted by legislatures have rarely proved efficacious, and have usually created the need for further legislative restrictions, and therefore kept working-class action circular instead of straight; and

Whereas political palliatives even if desirable are best obtained by educating and organizing for basic ends, inasmuch as some have ever been conceded when something more fundamental is the demand; be it

Resolved that the Socialist Federation of Australasia declares against a program of palliatives, and urges the workers to concentrate their energies upon abolishing capitalism by perfecting their industrial organizations and only using the ballot for Socialist propaganda.

But whilst agreeing with the wisdom of not having a political program of palliatives, the Federation heartily endorses the necessity for persistent and vigorous agitation to provide maintenance for necessitous children and adequate provision for the unemployed, also advising a universal agitation, industrially and politically, for a reduction of working hours.

5. As to Political Action.

No member of the Federation shall stand as, vote for, or support other than a Revolutionary Socialist for parliamentary or municipal office, unless otherwise advised at the time of an election by the national executive or at a special conference convened for that purpose.

Socialist candidates shall be selected by the organizations concerned, and before running be endorsed by the national executive, to which the candidate shall pledge himself to advocate and support the principles and policy of the S.F.A. Before entering on a campaign a candidate shall hand to his organization a written resignation, to be used in the event of his waver from the Socialist policy.

A candidate must have been for twelve months a member of an organization affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau.

6. As to Unionism.

The Federation declares for Industrial Unionism and urges its members to further the same by getting into the Trades Unions and seeking representation upon Trades Councils and Congresses. The Federation affirms its pronounced and mature conviction that Compulsory Arbitration, Wages Boards, the New Protection, and the like, as manifested in slightly-differing enactments in the Australian States and New Zealand, have not proved advantageous to the working class, but have weakened trade unionism in spirit and achievement; and therefore the acceptance or endorsement of any form of compulsory arbitration will prove detrimental to the industrial welfare and class emancipation of the workers.

7. As to Compensation.

The Federation vehemently protests against the working class being misled by the Labor or other parties into the belief that it is possible to socialize the instruments of production by a gigantic scheme of "buying out," or compensation to the possessing class, and warns the workers against endorsing such a utopian, immoral, and impracticable plan.

8. As to Militarism.

The S.F.A. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of militarism, recognising that whilst the present class State exists the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The Federation further recognises that all the energies of the working class can be most profitably utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, and which organizations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations are at present the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.

9. As to Sunday Schools.

In declaring for the need of Socialist Sunday Schools, the S.F.A. urges that same be established whenever and wherever circumstances permit.

THE DEATH OF FERRER.

The tyrant gloated in his fear,
And Truth felt crushed and Freedom sighs,
And millions felt a starting tear
When Ferrer died!

One living voice for Truth was stilled,
Yet he, in death, speaks loud and clear,
"Oppression's rule is long, but know,
It's end is near."

He died not as the martyrs died,
Who toiled and suffered all alone,
For over all the world to-day
Are spirits kindred with his own.

And not in vain his blood was shed;
From every drop a patriot springs
To praise him for the light he spread,
And free their soil from kings.

A hopeful signal from the land
Where king and priestly tyrant rules,
This martyr's dying with the cry,
"Long live the modern schools!"

—B. LAMSON, in the *Appeal to Reason*.

International Notes.

Argentina.

Among the Socialists who have been arrested are Dr. Mario Bravo, the Secretary of the Socialist Party, and all the editorial staff of the *Vanguardia*.

Great Britain.

At South-West Ham a large audience assembled to hear Comrade Thorne, of New Zealand, on Monday evening last, says *Justice* of March 26. His address, entitled "Land Legislation in New Zealand," was delivered in a very telling manner. He explained the method of taxation of land from the 1d in the £ on £1,500 to £5,000 worth of land to the 8 per cent. on the £200,000 worth of unimproved land, and also gave the amounts our dukes would be called upon to pay if their land was in New Zealand. He showed conclusively the fallacy of small holdings, and that taxation of land would not solve the unemployed problem.

An authoritative life of Karl Marx will appear during the spring. The author, Mr. John Spargo, has had the assistance of Madame Lafargue, Marx's daughter, as well as of friends.

The new S.D.P. executive is as follows:—London section: Hyndman, Quelch, Kneeb, Scurr, McEntee, Carmichael. Provincial Section: Hartley, Irving, Bannington, Purcell, Tillett, Kennedy.

Unionist members of the House of Commons accuse Keir Hardie of having falsely sworn the oath of allegiance to the king, and they are talking about expelling him.

The committee of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners has issued ballot papers, returnable on May 17, asking whether they shall enforce the reduction of 5 per cent in wages by a lockout. If 80 per cent. of the mill-owners agree, the reduction will be enforced.

Austria.

The Christian Social Party has chosen Leichtenstein to succeed Dr. Langer as head of the party.

Bulgaria.

The meeting organised on March 17 by the students to protest against the events of Routschouk terminated in a great anti-militarist demonstration. There were several encounters between the soldiers and the crowd, and several persons were injured.

France.

The soldier Amiraute, who has been in prison for some months on a charge of anti-militarist propaganda, has at last been released.

The railway workers are demanding a commencing minimum salary of 1,800 francs annually for the lowest grade of workers, or five francs a day, a working day of ten hours, a weekly day of rest, and adequate old-age pensions. On March 20 they organised a great open-air demonstration. The police behaved with the usual brutality. Several arrests were made.

A large and truly international meeting was held in Paris to protest against the sentence on Catherine Brechkovsky. Cipriani was in the chair.

The building trades are on strike at Dunkirk. Street fighting has occurred between the military and the strikers. Owing to a report that soldiers had killed a striker, trains were stopped and vans were overturned, while strikers armed with stones, bottles, and pieces of iron, welled the dragons, who rode down the strikers.

Germany.

The workers at Kiel struck for half-a-day in protest against the Prussian Suffrage Bill. The employers punished them for this "disobedience" by locking them out for three days. The police, of course, broke up the demonstration, and several persons were arrested.

A conflict occurred between building-trade strikers and blacklegs at Norhausen, Saxony. The police took sides with the non-

unionists, and charged the strikers with drawn swords.

On March 18, multitudes visited the "Cemetery of the Martyrs" and placed wreaths on the graves of those who fell at the barricades on March 18, 1848. So great was the crowd that many hundreds were unable to get into the cemetery. The number of wreaths was enormous, and almost all the wreaths bore inscriptions which reflected directly on the fight for universal suffrage in Prussia. The police assembled in large numbers. In addition to those present at the Cemetery, practically every house in the neighborhood contained police, and they demanded to examine all the inscriptions on the wreaths.

A controversy is raging in Germany as to whether trades-union action has really benefited workers, or the increased cost of living merely counterbalanced the increased wages. Herr Calwer, a statistician, declared that the cost of living is now 27 per cent. above what it was in 1895. German trades-unions, replying, asserted that the wages of 218,600 masons and 51,564 carpenters averaged 39 per cent. above the figures paid in 1895, and other trades show similar advances.

Spain.

The Spanish Government intends to begin a fresh campaign in Africa about the middle of May. The Socialists in accordance with the resolution of Stuttgart, have already taken their stand against the Government, as they did before the campaign at Melilla. *El Socialista* affirms that if blood is to be shed and money wasted in a new folly in North Africa, the country should rise as one man against the promoters of this crime. It advises the workers to prepare to sweep away those who are trying to reproduce the horrors of the war in Melilla. Pablo Iglesias, in the *Vida Socialista*, after having made an estimate of the probable costs, says that the whole country is hostile to the war. He says the working class will protest as it did before, and will follow this course with energy, without fear of persecution, even having recourse to a general strike if protests in the press and at public meetings do not suffice. If the peaceful strike does not attain its object, the workers will go even further, and resort to sane violence in order to avert the stain on the dignity of a people, and rather than send their sons to die in Africa to favor the interests of a few plutocrats.

Another illustrated weekly, *The Socialist Life*, was recently born in Madrid.

Russia.

The trial of 46 revolutionary Socialists is just finished. Six of the accused, among them the advocate Agabekov and the governor Pervienko, are condemned to eight years' penal servitude, three to six years, seven, among them the son of a priest Krenovsky, to four years, and eleven to perpetual deportation to Siberia. Some of the others have shorter sentences, and some are acquitted. Eight of the condemned revolutionists are soldiers, seventeen are peasants, besides five workmen, four intellectuals, one unknown man, and three women. The trial was held behind closed doors, and the court was surrounded by a battalion of soldiers.

The juristic weekly paper *Pravo* reports that during the last five years no less than 5,268 persons were condemned to death, 2,855 of whom have been executed, making on an average 104 death-sentences and 48 executions every month. During some months of 1906 the number of death-sentences reached 220 per month. In 1907 the maximum of executions per week was 29, in 1908, 36. The last few years no week has passed without some executions. In January, 1908, they numbered each day: 8, 9, 11, and 12; in February the maximum on one day reached 14.

Sweden.

The speech from the throne announces a Bill to regulate the relations between employers and workers. One clause provides punishments for setting on foot any strike calculated to endanger the safety of the State.

Gertrude Mansson is elected—the first woman to hold office of Town Councillor in Sweden.

M. O'Dowd's suggestion in *Vic. Socialist* re Socialists "permeating" the Labor Party is unthinkable from a Socialist standpoint. A bourgeois party can only be met and fought on both the industrial and political field—it cannot, must not, be compromised with. When M. O'D. says the "Labor" Party is improving, one remembers May Day in Melbourne, and smiles.

Mrs. Bowling writes: "I have received fully 200 letters, telegrams, poems (words and music)—all on the one subject. . . . I was in Goulburn a fortnight ago, and Peter looked fairly well. Of course, he is very thin and pale, but cheerful. The prison officials are as nice as they are able to be."

Socialism is the one moral force in the world to-day, standing for honesty, for home, for love and for righteousness.—*Appeal to Reason*.

TO PETER BOWLING.

BY OTUS.

"Through all the ages of that blood-red tragedy that men call History, the milestones that have marked the highway of Human Progression have been the jails and the gibbets of the ruling class." —H. E. HOLLAND to the jury in the sedition case at Albany, 1909.]

In splendor swing the golden days
And song-birds greet the morn;
But Freedom walks the wild high-ways
With bleeding feet and torn.

For not a line that's written red
On History's bloody page,
But tells of our heroic dead
In every tragic age.

And not a year that's rolled away
In ken of Man or God,
But gibbet-marked the rock-strewn way
That human feet have trod.

With dungeon dark and rack and stake
They've mile-stoned all the years;
The world they've ringed with hearts that break
And blood and bitter tears.

And, O, *Thou*, *The Dark*, *Shadows* *dominated* *except*;
And *Liberty* *lies* *dead*!
The Night Winds *moan* *where* *Martyrs* *sleep*—
OPPRESSION'S HANDS ARE RED!

S.F.A. News & Notes.

NEW ZEALAND.

Tim Auckland *Leader* denounces Arthur Rosser, J.P., and D. McLaren, M.P. The latter, the *Leader* asserts, is endeavoring to form a seah organisation to defeat the Federation of Labor, organised by the miners. "We will flay these self-seekers with whips of vitriolic damnation," says the editor of the *Leader*.

The *Weekly Herald*, a "labor" paper printed at Wellington, calls upon the workers to avoid the "impossible, impractical fallacies, and the God-forsaken, hypercritical, unworkable theory of Socialism."

SYDNEY JOTTINGS.

On Thursday, at the speakers' class, comrade McDonald delivered an interesting paper on the Sermon on the mount and Socialism. There was a good attendance.

On Sunday the domain propaganda meeting was largely attended. The speakers were McDonald, Wilson, Harris, and Holland. Some interesting questions were asked and answered. We should like our audiences to devote more attention to questioning our speakers.

On Sunday evening a successful meeting was held in Park-street, when the speakers were Cass, Hotchkiss, McDonald, and Wilson.

Ask your news-agent if he sells THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST, and see that he puts the placard out.

MAY DAY AT BROKEN HILL.

May Day was celebrated by the members of the Socialist Sunday School at the Trades Hall in the presence of a good attendance of members and friends. A program suitable to the occasion was gone through. Songs, duets, recitations, etc., were given by the scholars, and an instrumental duet was contributed by Miss May and Master Willie Jones, song by Miss Sylvia Forrest, and recitation by Miss Rose Giles. An orchestra rendered several pleasing items.

During the afternoon Mr. E. H. Gray delivered an eloquent address on May Day.

At the conclusion of the program the following resolution, moved by Miss Agnes Giffney, and seconded by Miss Rose Giles, was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting of the Broken Hill Socialist Sunday School sends fraternal greetings to the young people and their parents of the working class the world over, and pledges itself to the overthrow of capitalism."

The motion was carried with three cheers for social revolution.—*Barriec Truth*.

VICTORIA.

Rev. F. Sinclair lectured at the Socialist rooms on "Isen." Next Wednesday, Canon Stephen is to lecture on "Socialism."

Martin Hamann, M.L.A., has promised to debate Protection with a Socialist Party representative "when time permits."

The *Socialist* is printing Mrs. Katz's lecture on "Socialist Politics." Every Socialist should read it.

The *Socialist* says that whilst the police very busily and officiously took the names of banner-bearers on May Day, they weren't observed taking the names of hundreds who illegally trespassed on the railway preserve in order to annoy "Clummy" Fleming.

At the Gaiety Theatre, on May 1, a number of comrades of the Anarchist movement presented J. W. Fleming with a silver inkstand, as a token of their appreciation. The presentation was made by the veteran, Montague Miller.

S.F.A. Executive (Administrative Council) members are requested to note announcement re Saturday's meeting.

"From the Far-away North."

British Socialists demand Release of Strike Prisoners.

THE following letter has been received by the General Secretary, S.F.A.:—"Barrow-in-Furness Branch, S.D.P., 213 Marsh Street, Barrow Lane, April 6, 1910.—Dear Comrade,—I have been instructed to inform you that a resolution was passed at our branch meeting last night, protesting strongly against the unjust imprisonment of our comrade Peter Bowling and 18 others, and calling upon the Government to command their immediate release. Will you please convey our sincerest sympathy to our persecuted comrades, and tell them that we are watching from this far-away north, and are proud of them. More power to them. With all good wishes, I am fraternally yours, Jos. CHURCHSIDE, hon. sec."

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	£	s	d
Previously acknowledged	-	-	9 3 6
Mrs. McNamara	-	-	0 1 0
McDonald	-	-	0 1 0
Hotchkiss	-	-	0 1 0
Harris	-	-	0 1 0
	£	20	5 6

PRESS FUND.

	£	s	d
Previously acknowledged	-	-	20 16 1
Per Miss A. G. Kerr (Book 29)—J. W. K.	-	-	0 4 0
2s. A.G.K. 2s. Total	-	-	0 2 0
Per O. Jorgensen (Book 33)—A. Ansel-	-	-	0 13 0
line Is. A.H. Is. Total	-	-	0 3 0
Per O. Jorgensen (Book 30)—R. Welzel	-	-	27 18 1
Is. E. Welzel Is. Kleiner Is. Lass Is.	-	-	-
Liversidge Is. Kort Is. Martin Is.	-	-	-
Duncan Is. R. Wenzel Is. Martinet	-	-	-
Is. H. Dieckrichs Is. H.D. Is. Gerni	-	-	-
Is. Total	-	-	-
Per J. Wilson (Book 32)—Shewell 2s.	-	-	-
Wagner Is. Total	-	-	-
Advanced as Loans.	-	-	-
Already acknowledged	-	-	26 0 0

ELECTION FUND.

Previously acknowledged	-	-	26 1 1
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Committee and General Meetings.

The following meetings will be held at 274 Pitt-street, Sydney, during the forthcoming week:—

Saturday, 7 p.m.—S.F.A. Executive (Administrative Council).
Monday, 7.30 p.m.—Club Executive.
Monday, 8.30 p.m.—Joint Executives.
Monday, 9.15 p.m.—Group Executive.
Wednesday, 8 p.m.—Group, special general meeting.

Numerous complaints reach this office re the non-delivery through the post of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST. The Executive requests that subscribers will immediately notify the management if the paper fails to reach them by Saturday noon. The paper is posted at the G.P.O. on Thursday of each week, and should certainly be delivered on each Friday. Subscribers are also advised to lodge complaints re non-delivery with local postmasters. For the convenience of those who attend regularly at the Club rooms a "complaint" book will be kept open.

Concert of Tongue and Heart

Andrew Fisher: His Proclamation.

"WHEREAS it has pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy our late Sovereign Lord King Edward the Seventh, of blessed and glorious memory, by whose decease the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and all other of his Majesty's dominions, is solely and rightly come to the high and mighty Prince George Frederick Ernest Albert. We, therefore, William Humble, Earl of Dudley, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Commonwealth of Australasia, Andrew Fisher, Prime Minister and his Majesty's Treasurer of the said Commonwealth, and Egerton Lee Batchelor, Minister of State for External Affairs of said Commonwealth, do hereby, with one full voice and effect of tongue and heart, publish and proclaim that the high and mighty Prince George Frederick Ernest Albert is now, by the death of our late Sovereign, of happy and glorious memory, become our only rightful liege Lord George the Fifth, by Grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, *Supreme Lord in and over the Commonwealth of Australia, in whom we do acknowledge all faith and constant obedience*, with all hearty and humble affection, beseeching God, by Whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Prince George the Fifth with long and happy years to reign over us."

Euchre Party

AND DANCE

In aid of the Election Fund Debt, will be held at the Club Rooms, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney, on

Wednesday Evening, May 18th.

Wade in the Country.

AIR—"Fol-the-rol-lol."

BY THE JINGLER.

MA. WADE recently visited Queensland to open the show. At the banquet the company sang, "He's a jolly good fellow." Mr. Wade told the banqueters how, while sitting in his office, recently, with his sleeves rolled up, he heard a noisy commotion in the street, emanating from a multitude of males and females, marching in procession with an unfurled banner, and in the distance he heard the refrain of a song, which turned out to be, "We'll hang old Wade on a sour apple tree." This was a reflex of certain troublous times which they had been passing through during the last few months. The Government had only acted to preserve law and order.

PREMIER WADE a rare fine feller he is;
An we're feelin as proud as a prince
He came up to town to start our show biz—
And our hats they fit toght ivir since.
He rode from the station in a two-hoss bus
Wid our secretary an President Moore,
At the toniest pub he'd breakfast wid 'US—
Twas the ivint of our lives to be shure.

CHORUS.

Then fill all yer glasses roight up to the brim
Let us toast him in bumpers of fizz,
An promise to always be loyal to HIM—
For he's a jolly good feller, he is.

I cud aisy see if I'd only one eye
When I first got a glint of his phiz,
That Premier Wade is just the roight boy
For to manage a grate country's biz.
Shure, ability sits on his noble broad brow
An resolution's writ big on his chin;
In his eye there's great lustre all must allow,
And there's cunning behind that sleek grin.

Chorus—"Then fill," etc.

Wud ye believe it; he was rale pleased wid us,
For our praise was sweet music, said he,
After listening to songs of the Socialist cuss
Bout hangin' old Wade to a tree.
It gave him great pleasure to find every won
Of the people he saw balaved he'd gone
straight,
That aich of his act-shuns and all he had dun
Was dun for the good of the State.

Chorus—"Then fill," etc.

After tellin' the worst av his troubles to us,
He from the balcony abuv made a spache;
He said that through all of the coal strikers' fuss
To the toilers he had stuck loike a hich.

Now greedy employers dare not do as they'd loike
An roide o'er the workers rough-shod;
He had made it a crime for wurkers to stroike
And had clapped the stroike-leaders in quod.

Chorus—"Then fill," etc.

The State he'd thus saved from an awful disaster,
An the capitalists' roights had preserved;
For wurkers revolting from rule of the master
He had the jail an leg-irons reserved;
Industrial peace was secure on those lines,
At workin' condition no wurker might rail;
The miners must keep pickin' coal in the mines
Or go pickin' oakum in Darlinghurst Jail.

Chorus—"Then fill," etc.

Now the Capitalist Class who prosperity bring,
The Kings of Commerce or Lords of Trade,
The Combine an Company, the Trust an the Ring,
By the statesmanlike act-shuns of Wade,
Have got a fresh lease, and are filled with new life;
Just think what the State it has gained—
A thing of the past is Industrial Strife,
For labor is leg-ironed an chained.

LAST CHORUS.

Thin fill up yer glasses an drink ivry sup,
And cheer till your chin it gets cracked;
For Wade is the boy broke the unions up
And knocked out their strikes in one act.

CANBERRA.

Revolutionary Unionism

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

Speech Delivered at Chicago, November 25, 1905;
Revised by the Author and Re-issued
September, 1909.

THE unity of labor, economic and political, upon the basis of the class struggle, is at this time the supreme need of the working-class. The prevailing lack of unity implies lack of class consciousness; that is to say, enlightened self-interest; and this can, must and will be overcome by revolutionary education and organization. Experience, long, painful and dearly bought, has taught some of us that craft division is fatal to class unity. To accomplish its mission the working class must be united. They must act together; they must assert their combined power, and when they do this upon the basis of the class struggle, then and then only

will they break the fetters of wage-slavery.

We are engaged to-day in a class war; and why? For the simple reason that in the evolution of the capitalist system in which we live, society has been divided into two economic classes—a small class of capitalists who own the tools with which work is done and wealth is produced, and a great mass of workers who are compelled to use those tools. Between these two classes there is an irrepressible economic conflict. Unfortunately for himself, the workingman does not yet understand the nature of this struggle, and for this reason has hitherto failed to accomplish any effective unity of his class.

It is true that workers in the various departments of industrial activity have organized trade unions. It is also true that in this capacity they have from time to time asserted such power as this form of organization has conferred upon them. It is equally true, however, that mere craft unionism, no matter how well it may be organized, is in the present highly developed capitalist system utterly unable to successfully cope with the capitalist class. The old craft union has done its work and belongs to the past. Labor unionism, like everything else, must recognize and bow to the inexorable law of evolution.

The craft union says that the worker shall receive a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. What is a fair day's pay for a fair day's work? Ask the capitalist and he will give you his idea about it. Ask the worker and, if he is intelligent, he will tell you that a fair day's pay for a fair day's work is all the workingman produces.

While the craft unionist still talks about a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, implying that the economic interests of the capitalist and the worker can be harmonized upon a basis of equal justice to both, the Industrial Worker says, "I want all I produce by my labor."

If the worker is not entitled to all he produces, then what share is anybody else entitled to?

Does the worker to-day receive all he produces? Does he receive anything like a fair (?) share of the product of his labor? Will any trade-unionist of the old school make any such claim, and if he is bold enough to do so, can he verify it?

The student of this question knows that, as a matter of fact, in the capitalist system to-day the worker who produces all wealth receives but enough of his product to keep him in working and producing order. His wage, in the aggregate, is fixed by his living necessities. It suffices, upon the average, to maintain him according to the prevailing standard of living and to enable him to reproduce himself in the form of labor power. He receives, as a matter of fact, but about 17 per cent of what his labor produces.

The worker produces a certain thing. It goes from the manufacturer to the jobber, from the jobber to the wholesaler, and from the wholesaler to the retailer—each of these adding a profit, and when it comes back to the worker who produced it and he stands face to face with the product of his own labor, he can buy back, upon the average, with his paltry wage but about 17 per cent of it. In other words, he is exploited, robbed of about 83 per cent of what his labor produces. And why? For the simple reason that in modern industry, the tool, in the form of a great machine with which he works, is the private property of the capitalist, who didn't make it, and could not, if his life depended upon it, use it.

By virtue of his private ownership of the social tool—made and used by the co-operative labor of the working-class—the employer has the economic power to appropriate to himself, as a capitalist, what is produced

by the social labor of the working-class. This accounts for the fact that the capitalist becomes fabulously rich, lives in a palace where there is music and singing and dancing, and the luxury of all climes, while the workmen who do the work and produce the wealth and endure the privations and make the sacrifices of health and limb and life, remain in a wretched state of poverty and dependence.

The exploiting capitalist is the economic master and the political ruler in capitalist society, and as such holds his exploited wage slaves in utter contempt.

No master ever had any respect for his slave, and no slave ever had any love for his master.

There are those wage workers who feel their economic dependence, who know that the capitalist for whom they work is the owner of their job, and therefore the master of their fate, who are still vainly seeking by individual effort and through their waning craft unions to harmonize the conflicting interests of the exploiting capitalist and the exploited wage slave. They are engaged in a vain and hopeless task. They are wasting time and energy worthy of a better cause. These interests never can and never will be harmonized permanently, and when they are adjusted even temporarily it is always at the expense of the working class.

It is no part of the mission of this revolutionary working class union to conciliate the capitalist class. We are organized to fight that class, and we want that class to distinctly understand it. And they do understand it, and in time the working class will also understand it; and then the capitalist class will have reason to understand it better still. Their newspapers understand it so well even now that they have not a single favorable comment to make upon it.

When the convention of delegates was in session here for the purpose of organizing the Industrial Workers, every report that appeared in a Chicago paper—capitalist paper I mean; every single report was a tissue of perversion, misstatement, and downright falsehood. They knew that we had met for a purpose, and that that purpose was to fight the class of which they are the official mouthpieces. Now, it seems to me that this uniform hostility of the capitalist press ought to be significant to even the unthinking workingman. Capitalist papers are all quite friendly to the craft unions. They do not misrepresent them; they do not lie about them; do not traduce their representatives. They are exceedingly fond of them, because they know enough about their own interests to know that the craft unions are not only not a menace to them, but are in fact bulwarks of defence to them. And why? Because, chiefly, craft unions divide and do not unite the working class. And I challenge contradiction.

There was a time when the craft union expressed in terms of unionism the prevailing mode of industry. That was long ago when production was still mainly carried on by handicraftsmen with hand tools; when one man worked for another to learn his trade that he might become its master. The various trades involved skill and cunning; considerable time was required to master them. This was in the early stages of the capitalist system. Even at this early day the antagonism between employer and employed found expression, although the employer was not at that time the capitalist as he is to-day. The men who followed these trades found it necessary in order to protect themselves in their trade interests to band together, form a union, so that they might act together in resisting the encroachments of the "boss." So the trade union came into existence.

To be continued.

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2. "Coal Country Contrasts." "The residence of Mr. Alex. Ross (Walsend Coal Co.), Plattsburg," and "Miners' Home on Walsend Co's Estate at Plattsburg."
3. "Where the Miners Live," "Pitt Town Walsend," and "Miners' Homes."
4. "The Red Flag Brigade"—jailed for protesting against the Coercion Act.
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6. 1909 Conference Delegates.

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